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ABSTRACT

Since the end of the Second World War, the development of Nigeria has been marked by rapid commercial, manufacturing and urban growth concentrated in three main areas: (1) the southwest, the port-city and Federal capital of Metropolitan Lagos; (2) the north, a central close-settled zone which embraces the cities of Kano, Zaria and Kaduna; and (3) the south-east, a well-knot network of urban places which is dominated by Port Harcourt, Onitsha, Aba and Emigre. The first part of this survey, "The Need for Urban and Regional Planning," examines urbanization and migration, consequences of urbanization and townward migration, spatial disparities in population growth, and disparities and problems of economic development. Part II, "The Governmental Response to Problems of Urban and Regional Development," discusses the federal, state and local responses to urbanization problems in Western Nigeria, Lagos State, Northern and Eastern Nigeria. Part III, "University Training and Research in Urban and Regional Planning," presents a look at urban and regional studies, and town planning. [For related documents in this series, see UD 013 731-013 737 and UD 013 739-013 744 for surveys of specific countries. For special studies analyzing urbanization in the Third World, see UD 013 745-UD 013 748.]
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An International
Urbanization Survey Report
to the Ford Foundation

**Urbanization in
Nigeria**
A Planning Commentary

UD 013738

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

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This working paper was prepared as supportive material for an International Survey of Urbanization in the developing countries, which was organized by the Ford Foundation late in 1970 and was completed late in 1972. The purpose of the Survey was to provide findings and recommendations to guide the Foundation in making informed judgments on its future participation in programs related to the urban condition in the less-developed countries.

The Survey was directed neither to perform nor to commission original research. Its work was to be reportorial, analytic, and indicative of program choices. To serve these objectives, the Survey was essentially a field operation in which the staff travelled widely in the countries where the Foundation maintains field offices and drew not only upon its own observations but upon the experience of Foundation personnel assigned to the developing countries. The staff's own field notes on phases of urbanization in specific countries were expanded into working papers both to record observations and to clarify the deductive processes and the analyses of data which were to form a demonstrable basis for the Survey's conclusions. Additional working papers were provided by Foundation personnel with a depth of field knowledge, and by consultants expert either in specific countries or in topics of special interest.

The Survey working papers and special studies were originally intended only for internal use. It became evident, however, that the body of material had values which argued for wider exposure. Accordingly, the Foundation is publishing the papers for those with special country or topical interests and for those interested in the material as a whole.

The working papers carry disclaimers appropriate to the circumstances of their preparation and to the limitations of their original purpose. The reader should not expect to find in them either the product of original research or a comprehensive treatment of the processes of urbanization in the particular country. Rather, they are occasional papers whose unity derives from their use as exemplary and illustrative material for the Survey.

But unity of form and substance is not the measure of their value. Each report and special study is an essay on some aspect of urbanization in the developing countries. In most instances, they are what a good essay should be — unmistakably personalized and therefore reflective of the insights and the convictions of informed authors.

The International Urbanization Survey

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ED 079457

Urbanization in Nigeria: a planning commentary

by

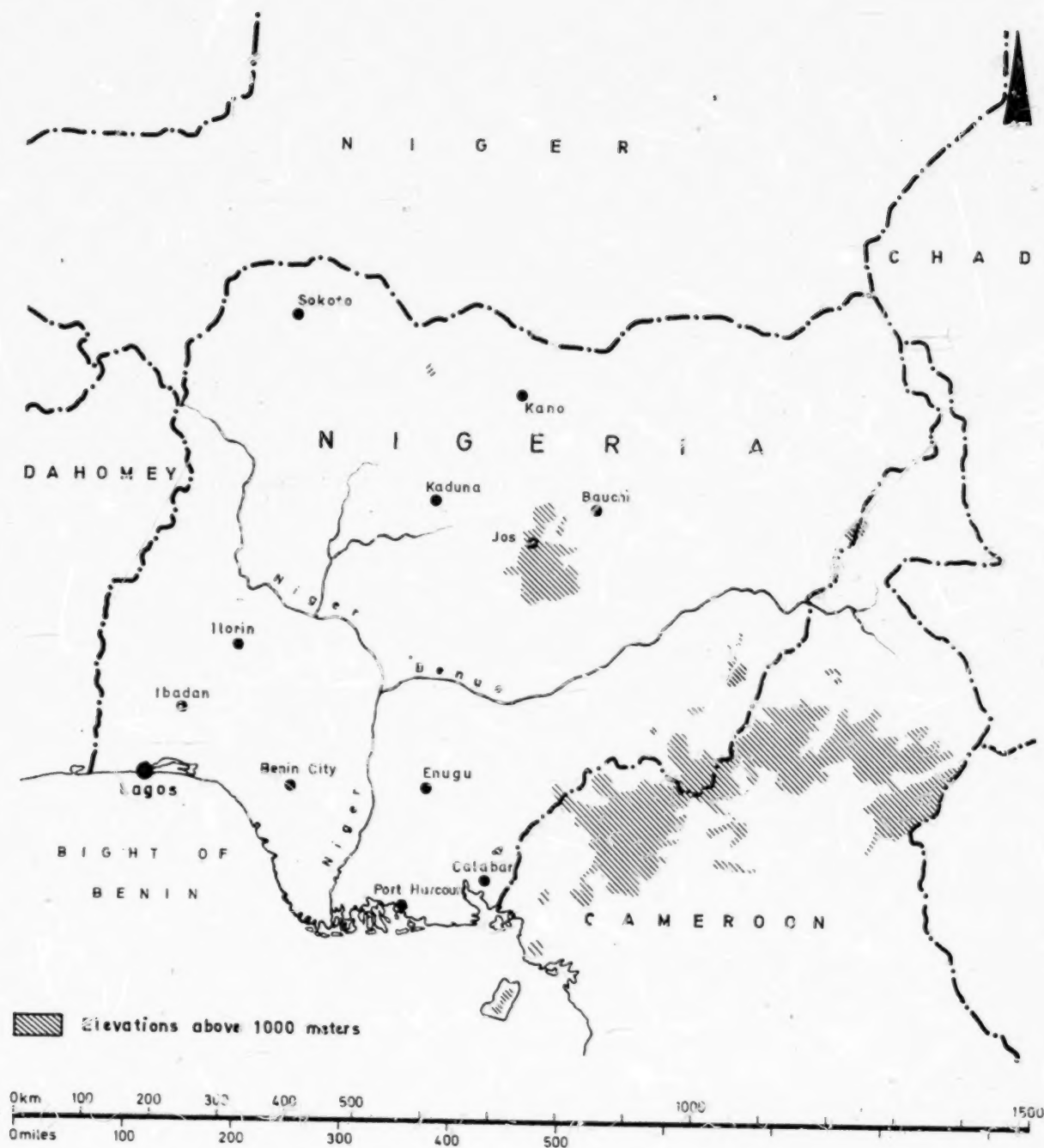
Leslie Green and Vincent Milone

International Urbanization Survey

The Ford Foundation

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U R B A N I Z A T I O N I N N I G E R I A

I N T E R N A T I O N A L U R B A N I Z A T I O N S U R V E Y

THE NEED FOR URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING*

Introduction

Since the end of the Second World War, the development of Nigeria has been marked by rapid commercial, manufacturing and urban growth concentrated in three main areas. These three areas, or growth-poles, are (i) in the south-west, the port-city and Federal capital of Metropolitan Lagos, which is a vast industrial complex and national transport hub; (ii) in the north, a central close-settled zone which embraces the cities of Kano, Zaria and Kaduna, includes the administrative, commercial, manufacturing and transport hubs of Northern Nigeria, and in its rural parts is characterized by intensive agricultural production; and (iii) in the south-east, a well-knit network of urban places which is dominated by Port Harcourt, Onitsha, Aba and Enugu, and is also industrial, commercial and administrative in character.

Although the prosperity of the Nigerian economy has been highly dependent on agricultural production throughout the postwar period, the wealth generated by the agricultural

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This report refers to the position as of March, 1971.

sector has tended to gravitate from rural to urban areas.^{*} Many of the social and economic reasons for this gravitation are related to an accelerating process of urbanization that has been associated with great changes in the spatial distribution of the country's population, and with a rising disparity of development from locality to locality, and from region to region. Exemplified by a continuing tendency for urban population and secondary and tertiary-sector investment to concentrate in the three major growth-poles, the process has, nevertheless, spread throughout the country as its development has forged ahead.

These circumstances call increasingly for the infusion into national and state development policies of the concepts and techniques of urban and regional planning. The aims of this type of planning may be summarized as follows: (i) to establish the nature, location and dimensions of the changes

^{*} c.f. S.M. Essang (The Impact of Marketing Boards on the Distribution of Cocoa Earnings in Western Nigeria. Seminar Paper, NISER/Dept. of Economics, Ibadan University, March 1971). Of cocoa farmers in Western Nigeria, 9 per cent account for 58 per cent of total cocoa earnings and receive most financial and other benefits from government programs. The great majority of this group in fact lives in the larger urban centers, pays its taxes in such centers, and acquires its non-farm expenditure there. The Marketing Boards have enhanced the resulting tendency for a rural-to-urban transfer of wealth. 'In Nigeria far from helping to reduce the urban-rural income gap, the Marketing Boards have become the primary vehicle for widening this gap....a substantial proportion of the funds accumulated by the Boards are invested in projects which largely benefit...the non-farm sector.'

taking place in the rural and urban areas of Nigeria, with emphasis on the spatial aspects of such changes; (ii) to identify the problems of development arising from these changes, particularly concerning the location of the problems, their repercussions on the country's expanding physical framework of cities, towns, villages and inter-connecting roads and railroads, and their implications for the rapidly growing movement of people and goods from place to place; and (iii) to formulate possible public policies in regard to the location of future investment in economic activities, urban and rural infrastructure, communication networks and the like, which are designed to attack urban problems where and as they arise, and before they become serious threats to national, regional or local interests.

In part, the urgency of the need for this type of planning stems from the rapid rate of the country's development. There are several indices of this rate, such as an overall expansion of the population which expert sources believe to be currently averaging 3 per cent per annum; * a rise in gross domestic product from 1,315.4 million Nigerian pounds in 1962 to 1,605.0 million Nigerian pounds in 1966

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c.f. J.C. Caldwell and A.A. Igun (The Population Outlook in Nigeria. Seminar on Population Problems and Policy in Nigeria, Demographic Research and Training Unit, Ife University, March 1971).

[4]

(or by 5.1 per cent per annum); and an increase in the ratio of gross investment to gross domestic product from 12.2 per cent to 15.1 per cent during the same period. ^{*} But of particular relevance to urban and regional planning is the 'spottiness' of development and, therefore, those indices of growth from area to area which reveal spatial disparities in development. Demographic indices of such 'spottiness' are of singular importance, so far as, for example, population movements tend to be responses to economic incentives thereby reflecting economic differentials from area to area, particularly from rural to urban areas. Urbanization and migration are in fact key elements of the development process, and the need for urban and regional planning can be well illustrated by reference to them.

* Federal Government of Nigeria. Second National Development Plan, 1970-74.

Urbanization and Migration

Prior to the Second World War, Nigeria's population was growing at a rate of approximately 1.8 per cent per annum. The major population movements were rural-to-rural and much migration was seasonal and temporary. In 1952, the largest town was Ibadan, consisting of 460,206 persons and having a population growth-rate of about 2.1 per cent per annum, which indicated an insignificant rate of urbanization. The second largest town was Lagos with 267,407 persons, followed by Kano with 131,316. Like Ibadan, Kano owed its expansion rather to natural increase in population than to any tangible degree of rural-to-urban migration; the only evidence of an imminent 'take-off' into urbanization appeared in Lagos. Here, by contrast, the 1950 census in Lagos and 1952 national census revealed a sudden upsurge in population-growth to 5.5 per cent per annum, attributable more to in-migration than to natural increase.

Between 1952 and 1963, Lagos headed what may be described as no less than an urban revolution, which spread rapidly to other parts of Nigeria. This revolution was accompanied by an unprecedented rise in the overall rate of increase in the country's population, from 1.8 per cent per annum to what several authorities estimate as a rate of 2.8

* per cent per annum. Such a rate was comparable to that of the United States during the years of its greatest population expansion, although immigration was the main factor in the U.S. while it is excluded from the Nigerian estimate.

As the country's population thus multiplied, internal movements from rural to urban areas accelerated even more quickly. Within a single decade, Lagos grew to 665,246 inhabitants, and spread beyond its city boundaries to form a metropolitan complex of 1,089,863 persons. ** The city's own population thus grew at a rate of over 8.6 per cent per annum, the metropolitan population grew at 11.5 per cent per annum, and the metropolitan fringe population beyond the city's limits grew by no less than 19.2 per cent per annum. Over 644,000 people are estimated to have migrated to Metropolitan Lagos, nearly 510,000 of them originating from Western Nigeria, over 106,000 from Eastern Nigeria, over

* c.f. I.I.U. Eke ('Population of Nigeria: 1952-63'. Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies, vol. 8, no. 2, July 1966); J.C. Caldwell and A.A. Igun, op. cit. C. Okonjo ('A Preliminary Medium Estimate of the 1962 Mid-Year Population of Nigeria'. The Population of Tropical Africa, J.C. Caldwell and C. Okonjo eds., London, 1968). See also Leslie Green (Nigeria: Population Models for National and Regional Planning, 1952-67. NISER, Ibadan, 1969).

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A.L. Mabogunje (Urbanization in Nigeria. London, 1968). The remaining data on urbanization and migration in this section are taken from Leslie Green, op. cit., and Northern Nigeria: Population Models for National and Regional Planning, 1952-67. NISER, Ibadan, 1971; and from published census material.

23,000 from Mid-Western Nigeria and over 6,000 from Northern Nigeria. The history of Africa records no previous movement of this magnitude, a movement which in this case was neither seasonal nor temporary but permanent, and occurred at a rate of nearly 59,000 persons a year.

In the north, the population of Kano rose to 295,432 persons at the time of the 1963 census, or by 7.6 per cent per annum. Kaduna grew even more remarkably, from 42,647 persons in 1952 to an estimated 129,133, at the high rate of 10.6 per cent per annum. Situated between them, Zaria's population expanded from 92,434 to 166,170, at a rate of 5.5 per cent per annum. In total the urban population of what may be termed the central core-area of Northern Nigeria (including an outlying extension in Jos) grew to 685,186 persons at a combined rate of 7.6 per cent per annum. Well over 271,000 people are thus estimated to have migrated to this central core-area, and over 232,000 to the three cities of Kaduna, Kano and Zaria alone. Of these in-migrants, 182,000 originated from Northern Nigeria (including 100,000 from the rural parts of the core-area itself), over 33,000 from Eastern Nigeria, over 15,000 from Western Nigeria (including Ilorin and Kabba divisions of Northern Nigeria), and nearly 2,000 from Mid-Western Nigeria.

In the south-east the censuses indicate that Port Harcourt expanded from 59,548 persons in 1952 to 179,563 in 1963, at a rate of 10.5 per cent per annum; Aba grew from

58,251 to 131,003 persons, at a rate of 7.6 per cent per annum; Enugu's population rose from 63,212 to 138,457 persons, at a rate of 7.4 per cent per annum; and Onitsha grew from 77,087 to 163,032 persons, at a rate of 7.0 per cent per annum. Urbanization in these functionally complementary centers thus accounted for a combined growth-rate of 8.2 per cent per annum and an estimated 262,000 in-migrants from the rest of Nigeria, the great majority coming from what is now the East-Central State.

Outside those three population growth-poles, migration accelerated to provincial capitals. Although Ibadan expanded to only 635,011 persons by the time of the 1963 census, at a rate of just under 3.0 per cent per annum, Naiduguri grew by 4.8 per cent per annum, Ilorin by an estimated 4.0 per cent, Katsina by 5.0 per cent, Sokoto by 5.9 per cent, Benin by 5.8 per cent and Calabar by 4.5 per cent. Even allowing for census errors, there is good reason to believe that the populations of these urban places, and of others located in the eastern part of the Western Nigerian cocoa-belt, rose at rates of between 4 and 5 per cent per annum. As a result, a hierarchical pattern of urbanization emerged by 1963. At its apex stood the primate city of Metropolitan Lagos, with a population expanding at four times the national rate of growth. Second came the core-areas of Northern and Eastern Nigeria, with urban populations expanding at about three times the national rate. Third came

certain provincial capitals and other locally-important towns, with populations expanding at approximately twice the national rate.

Between 1963 and 1967 these trends undoubtedly persisted, and the rate of urbanization rose in at least the three major growth-poles, as industry, commerce and administration gravitated to them. In consequence, during the fifteen-year period ending in early 1967, the three areas received an estimated influx which easily surpassed in volume the total migrant population of the entire country, as reflected in the 1952-53 census (which was estimated at 1,500,000 persons and was the end result of long lasting and persistent population movements). Migration to other urban centers undoubtedly involved thousands of additional people. All told, between 1952 and 1967, townward migration accounted for between 6 and 8 per cent of the country's rural population recorded in the 1952-53 census, and the proportion of Nigerians living in settlements of at least five thousand inhabitants rose from 19 per cent to a conservatively-estimated 25 per cent or by about one-third.

Consequences of Urbanization and Townward Migration

Spatial Disparities in Population Growth: Unprecedented movements such as these, accompanied by substantial rural-to-rural movements--for example, from Benin and Urhobo divisions in Mid-Western Nigeria to Ondo, Owo and Ekiti

and divisions in Western Nigeria; from Tiv division to Lafia, Wukari, Idoma, Lowland and Muri divisions in Northern Nigeria; from Igoirra and Igala divisions in Northern Nigeria to Ekiti and Owo divisions in Western Nigeria; from Bornu and Dikwa divisions to Bauchi, Gombe, Kano Northern, Bedde and Lafia divisions in Northern Nigeria; from Bida division to Abuja and Kontagora divisions in Northern Nigeria; and from Sokoto division to Gombe, Bauchi and Kontagora divisions in Northern Nigeria--all such movements have had a significant impact on variations in population growth-rates from area to area in recent years.

The greatest visible impact has undoubtedly occurred in the three major growth-poles where, between 1963 and 1967, the urban populations expanded at overall rates of between 8 and 12 per cent per annum. This does not mean, however, that areas which are primarily rural have not been severely affected. Outside Metropolitan Lagos, a drain of some 750,000 persons from Western Nigeria in fifteen years has seriously depressed population growth-rates in the southern districts of Abeokuta and Ijebu provinces, and in Colony province. Since the great majority of the out-migrants have been under thirty years old, the average age of the rural populations has risen, and in spite of a high rate of natural increase, their numbers have become stationary or have even declined in some instances.*

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International Labor Organization. Socio-Economic Conditions in Ifo, Otta and Ilaro Districts of the Western State of Nigeria. Western State, Ibadan, 1970.

Migration to the Kano-Zaria-Kaduna growth-pole has had a similarly depressing impact on growth-rates in the rural districts of Zaria, Kano and Katsina divisions, especially in the latter two. Generally speaking, since 1952, divisional rates of population growth in Northern Nigeria have tended to fall with distance from this growth-pole; except in some southern areas, where rural-to-rural movements of people have continued to take place from, for instance, Ilorin, Igbirra, Bida and Tiv divisions, mainly to adjacent divisions but also to parts of Southern Nigeria, and especially to the eastern portions of the Western Nigeria cocoa-belt. The following general pattern of population growth has emerged in Northern Nigeria: (i) a central core-area, which focuses on the three fast-developing cities of Kano, Zaria and Kaduna and has an overall population growth-rate above the rate of natural increase; (ii) a peripheral belt surrounding the core-area, which has an overall population growth-rate equal to the rate of natural increase but which contains some areas suffering heavy net losses of population to adjacent areas within the belt, to the central core-area and to Southern Nigeria; and (iii) fringe areas surrounding the peripheral belt, from which a net exodus of people takes place mainly to that belt and the central core-area, resulting in population growth-rates falling below the rate of natural increase.

Elsewhere, most divisions of Mid-Western Nigeria have

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recorded growth-rates above 3 per cent per annum, and its urban centers of Benin, Sapele and Warri have expanded at rates ranging from 3.7 to 5.8 and 9.8 per cent per annum respectively. Eastern Nigeria as a whole experience a growth-rate as low as 2.2 per cent per annum between 1952 and 1963, because of an out-migration to the rest of the country estimated at over 633,000 persons. By contrast, the East's urban centers of Port Harcourt, Aba, Onitsha and Enugu grew at rates of between 7 and 11 per cent per annum during the same period. Thus the rural areas of, for example, Onitsha, Awka, Okigwi, Orlu and Oguta experienced a very large out-migration of people, both rural-to-rural and rural-to-urban in character. From district to district, population growth-rates in fact varied greatly during the inter-censal period and, since 1952, Eastern Nigeria has been especially marked by an extremely wide divergence in rates of increase in population between many of its urban and rural areas.

Disparities and Problems of Economic Development: The striking contrasts in population-growth from area to area have had important economic causes and consequences. For instance, the output of Nigeria's manufacturing industries grew by about 17 per cent per annum between 1950 and 1965, and their share of the gross domestic product rose from 0.5

* to 5.0 per cent. The geographic distribution of these industries was severely limited, however. By 1965, about 32 per cent of the country's total manufacturing plants were concentrated in Metropolitan Lagos alone, and a further 50 per cent were accounted for by the urban centers of Kano, Zaria, Kaduna and Jos in Northern Nigeria, Benin and Sapele in Mid-Western Nigeria, Port Harcourt, Aba and Onitsha in Eastern Nigeria, and Ibadan and Abeokuta in Western Nigeria.**

The three major growth-poles have thus dominated the field of manufacturing during the past two decades; they have also increasingly dominated the field of commerce and administration. For example, whereas in 1958 only 19 per cent of the trade by road between Northern and Western Nigeria (including Lagos) originated from Kano and only 19 per cent ended in Lagos, by 1964 as much as 39 per cent began in Kano and 71 per cent was destined for Lagos.*** In Eastern Nigeria, by 1963 Port Harcourt (36%), Aba (24%),

* O. Aboyade 'Industrial Location and Development Policy: The Nigerian Case'. Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies, vol. 10, no. 3, November, 1968.

** Ibid.

*** A. Hay and R. Smith Inter-regional Trade and Money Flows in Nigeria, 1964. NISER, Ibadan, 1970.

Enugu (19%) and Onitsha (18%) together accounted for 97 per cent of all registered businesses in that region.^{*} As far as the country as a whole is concerned, the results of this continuing concentration of manufacturing and commercial activities in three main zones have been "a growing economic frustration by a politically disenchanted population and the intensification of an unemployment distribution pattern that (has become) a source of national embarrassment."^{**} As far as the three main zones themselves are concerned, physically, socially and administratively their towns and cities have proved increasingly unable to meet the challenge of an economic development which threatens to overwhelm them.

In Metropolitan Lagos, for example, chaotic traffic conditions have become endemic; demands on the water supply system have begun to outstrip its maximum capacity; power cuts have become chronic as industrial and domestic requirements have escalated; factories have been compelled to bore their own wells and to set up stand-by electricity plants; public transport has been inundated; port facilities have been stretched to their limits; the conditions have degenerated over extensive areas within and beyond the city's

^{*} Official figures quoted by U.I. Ukwu, Markets in Iboland, Eastern Nigeria. Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge, 1965.

^{**} C. Aboyade, op. cit.

limits, in spite of slum clearance schemes; and city government has threatened to break down amidst charges of corruption, mismanagement and financial incompetence. Moreover, although employment opportunities have multiplied in industry, commerce and public administration, there is no doubt that thousands of in-migrants have been unable to find work, and the potential for civil disturbances has increased.

In the rural hinterland of Lagos, the huge exodus of the most productive age-groups to the metropolitan area had a depressing effect upon the rural farm economy and its revenue-producing capacity. The southern districts of Abeokuta province and the rural districts of Colony province have in particular been marked by derelict oil mills, empty houses, broken bridges and deteriorating roads.* The Western State's financial position has recently been described as "most unsatisfactory" by the Military Governor, with public expenditure rising against income since 1960, and a deficit of nearly 3 million Nigerian pounds being incurred in the capital estimates for 1970/71.**

In Northern Nigeria, four states which are not exporters of population because of rural-to-urban and rural-

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According to personal surveys made in 1966 and reports of the I.L.O. Pilot Project for Rural Employment in the Western State, 1966--70.

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Press statement, April 19, 1971.

to-rural out-migration face similar financial problems. By contrast, Kano and North-Central States, which together embrace the central core-area (less Jos), are net importers of population, financially strong, and enjoy diversifying economic bases. Even so, accounting for some 25 per cent of Nigeria's new industrial investment since 1965 (excluding Eastern Nigeria and as against 50 per cent located in Metropolitan Lagos*), their urban nodes of Kano, Zaria and Kaduna have begun to experience traffic, housing, water, power, market and administrative problems similar to those already manifest in Lagos. Lacking the educational facilities available in Lagos, they are faced with serious shortages of skilled manpower despite large pools of unemployed immigrants from the surrounding rural areas. Lacking tax bases geared to their sharply-rising demands for investment in social services and overheads, they face the probability of a deterioration in physical and social conditions which, as in Lagos, will be increasingly inimical to continued economic growth.

In Mid-Western Nigeria, a recent study of the oil-town of Warri reveals the same kinds of difficulties arising in

*

Private communication from Dr. L.H. Schatzl, NISER.

an urban center distant from the three major growth-poles.^{*} Estimated to have grown from 55,254 persons in 1963 to about 100,000 in 1971, and having a suburban fringe population of an additional 30,000 people, Warri now faces serious unemployment and housing shortages, the prices of foodstuffs and other essential commodities have soared, land values have quintupled since 1965, and the condition of its road network has become deplorable. The town has been overwhelmed by the transfer to it of the headquarters and operations of the major oil companies, upon the outbreak of the civil war.

These are but a few examples of the repercussions upon Nigeria's urban and rural areas of the divergent rates of development from area to area which have so strongly marked the country's evolution in the last two decades. It is noticeable that, so far, there is no apparent tendency for the divergencies to diminish. If anything, they are tending to widen, especially between the major growth-poles and the rest of the country, particularly, it seems, because these urban nodes are the hubs of the national and regional transport systems. Outside the major growth-poles, however, there are important if isolated growing-points, consisting of mining areas (as of Jos and Warri), and of plantation

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J.O. Abiodun The Booming Oil Town of Warri: A Study of the Impact of the Petroleum Industry on a Nigerian Town. Seminar on Population Problems and Policy in Nigeria. Demographic Research and Training Unit, Ife University, March, 1971.

farming (as in the southern parts of the Mid-Western State); of areas of export-crop production (as in the cocoa-belt of Western Nigeria); and of areas of 'induced growth' (as illustrated by the irrigation schemes now under way in Kano State.* Surrounding these major and minor growth-areas are peripheral and fringe areas of economic isolation, backwardness and rural depopulation. An essential problem of development is to mitigate the widening disparities of growth from area to area without significantly retarding the rate of national development in order, for instance, to assist the urbanizing areas to begin to cope with the physical, social and administrative difficulties which rapid expansion thrusts upon them, and to assist the peripheral and fringe areas to break down their isolation and backwardness. These are predominantly tasks for urban and regional planning, the need for which becomes increasingly urgent as the rate of national development accelerates.

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For this classification, see M.I. Logan "The Process of Regional Development and its Implications for Planning." Journal of the Geographical Association of Nigeria, vol. 13, no. 2, December 1970.

THE GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSE TO PROBLEMS
OF URBAN AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The Federal Response

Despite the urban revolution in Nigeria and the uneven rates of development from area to area, the Federal Government has yet to establish administrative machinery for the formulation and implementation of national policy on urban and regional development. The Nigerian Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1946, the only national legislation on this subject, has never been concerned with more than local planning authorities and schemes.

In the absence of relevant national policy, machinery, and procedures, it is hardly surprising that, although the first National Development Plan (1962--68) allocated a total capital expenditure of 42 million Nigerian pounds to town and country planning (including housing), it contained no national strategy for urban and regional development. It omitted an analysis of the nature, extent and direction of the urbanization under way since 1952, it did not assess the potential consequences of its own sectoral, investment decisions, and it made little if any provision for attacking the problems which were likely to arise in both rural and urban areas from the progressive migration it encouraged. There has, in fact, been no planning specifically for urban and regional development in Nigeria. At best, there has been a local, ad hoc response to uncontrolled city growth, as in the commissioning of metropolitan plans for Kano and

Kaduna; or, as in Western Nigeria, where a number of town planning authorities have been set up (whose activities in all but three cases, however, have in practice been confined to little more than the approval of new building plans).

The Second National Development Plan (1970--74), released in November, 1970, provides for a total capital expenditure of 38 million Nigerian pounds on town and country planning (including housing), and looks beyond limited local horizons to the concept of regional or physical planning on a national scale. It defines physical planning as "a kind of visual aid to economic planning," and adds, "the controlled dispersal of social overheads and infrastructural facilities (to promote "even development" from area to area) must be physically planned in such a way as to coincide with the functional or sectoral planning objectives."

However, the planning objectives of the industrial sector for 1970--74 make no reference to either urbanization or migration, and the location of government-sponsored industries is to be decided "purely on economic considerations." Sectoral policy in respect of electric power supplies includes their extension and improvement in (i) existing industrial areas of Lagos, Ibadan, Port Harcourt and Kano, and in new areas of industrial location, and (ii) in major administrative and population centers where there is no electricity. If the location of new industries is to be decided on economic consideration alone, therefore, this

policy strongly implies a further stimulus to large-scale migration to the major growth-poles in the next four years rather than encouraging "even development." In the transport sector, the announced planning policy is silent on urbanization. It dwells on "the need for greater coordination among the various transport modes" and their better management. A major objective is providing "a well articulated set of highways geared to the needs of development;" but it does not define these needs, except to add that emphasis will be placed on "what is optimal in national economic terms." As regards water supplies, "in the urban areas, the strategy will be to increase the capacity....to meet the expected growth in population and in industrial and commercial activities." This policy differs from the stated aims of physical planning (since it refers to expected and not planned growth), and it will be dependent upon decisions about the volume and location of investment in the industrial, power and transport sectors.

In the absence of an articulate national strategy on urbanization and regional development, which firmly influences all sectoral planning policies, it is to be expected that sectoral investment decisions will be guided, as in the Plan, mainly by purely economic considerations. This means that the mounting developmental and environmental problems of the progressive "take-off" into urbanization can receive only scant attention. The lack of such a strategy

in successive development plans may be explained not only by the absence of relevant administrative machinery and procedures; it also flows from a lack of appropriate and systematic research to provide a factual basis for policy-formulation. Before July, 1968, there was no such research at all. Since then, a small physical planning research division has been set up at the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, with the long-term aims of (i) methodically and continuously informing the Federal and State Governments on the spatial aspects of the country's development, area by area, and (ii) advising them on possible urban and regional planning policies.

It is too early for this division to make a real impact on present thinking about the orientation of national planning. But it is understood that a regional planning unit may in the future be established in the Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction (which is responsible for national planning), and the Second National Development Plan earmarks 220,000 Nigerian pounds for this purpose. In such case, if the work of the research division and planning unit can be reasonably coordinated, machinery may emerge capable of undertaking the research, analysis and policy-preparation needed for the formulation of a national strategy on urbanization and regional development, which can progressively influence functional and sectoral planning objectives. It should not be inferred, however, that the

implementation of these objectives by means of development projects will necessarily conform to the planning strategy they then embody. Undoubtedly, other machinery and procedures at all levels of government will have to be devised for this purpose.

The State and Local Response

Sub-national planning at the level of the twelve constituent States or four former Regions has been as devoid of policy on urbanization and regional development as planning at the Federal level. For instance, the First National Development Plan provided for the establishment of housing corporations in each Region, in imitation of the Western Nigerian prototype of 1958. Their activities were largely limited to the building of middle-class housing estates in the regional capitals, and to the development of industrial estates in Metropolitan Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, Port Harcourt and a dozen other towns. Rapid urbanization needed no encouragement in the major centers, and the choice of location was not determined within the context of spatial (or regional) planning. The Second National Development Plan does provide for State expenditure on town planning, but it makes no provision for town and country planning except in the Western State.

Western Nigeria: Only in Western Nigeria has consideration clearly been given to the need for a policy on

urbanization and regional development. In 1967/68, two reports were submitted to the Ministry of Lands and Housing, Western State, entitled Physical Planning in Western Nigeria and Administration of Physical Planning in Western Nigeria (Green and Milone). They suggested that development projects be selected which are "specially designed (a) to stimulate growth at the (State's) key points, and (b) through the favorable influences these points and projects exert on surrounding areas, to promote an orderly and cumulative advance of the (State) as a whole." They added that this selection should be determined "above all by a thorough and objective assessment of the efficiency of the existing pattern of urban growth, from the standpoint of the current transfer of the (State's) resources from production for subsistence to production for a modern market economy."

The reports advocated the up-grading of not more than three medium-sized towns chosen "in terms of the empirical need for central places (i) to undertake comprehensive services for surrounding hinterlands (ii) to act as hubs of communications networks, and (iii) to house basic industries." They concluded that policy in regard to transport planning, agricultural development schemes, the location of new industries and industrial estates, town planning and housing schemes, and investment in other infrastructure from area to area, should be predicated on this strategy. And they recommended appropriate changes in the State's town and

country planning legislation, proposed a major reorganization of the Ministry of Lands and Housing for the formulation and implementation of appropriate regional planning policy, suggested transforming the Western Nigeria Housing Corporation into an executive authority to undertake urban development projects within the framework of such policy, and advocated a drastic reduction in the number of town planning authorities.

The Second National Development Plan now provides for a capital expenditure by the Western State of 100,000 Nigerian pounds on "a general physical plan for the State," 14,000 Nigerian pounds on "plans for priority towns," 725,000 Nigerian pounds on the "lay-out of urban development areas," and 950,000 Nigerian pounds on "financial assistance to planning authorities." It is not known if this proposed expenditure of 1.8 million Nigerian pounds is intended to support action in terms of the recommendations of the two reports; but, so far, none of the main proposals for legislative changes and administrative reorganization has been implemented, and effective action will be difficult without such changes and reorganization. It is noteworthy that under the first National Development Plan, only 52,000 Nigerian pounds (or 3%) was actually spent by 1967, out of the total capital allocation of 1,600,000 Nigerian pounds for town and country planning (excluding housing), partly because of staff and other administrative problems.

At present, the Town Planning Division of the Ministry of Lands and Housing, Western State, has at headquarters but three professional officers (all trained overseas, and excluding one officer sent for SPURS training at M.I.T.), and four or five technical-level men trained locally at the Ibadan Technical College as town planning assistants. Three or four overseas-trained officers are also posted to area headquarters to supervise the work of the town planning authorities in each area. The latter authorities are appointed by the State Government under the Western Nigeria Town and Country Planning Law, 1956 (based on the Nigerian Ordinance of 1946), and number about eighteen, most of which are located in divisional capitals. Only the Ibadan authority has professionally-trained, town planning officers. But of the two employed, one is seconded from the Ministry.

Since the inception of town and country planning legislation in 1946, the Western Nigeria town planning authorities have concentrated on building control, sometimes referred to as development control. The few planning schemes implemented have been confined to housing and road lay-outs in towns and villages. The most successful of these have been in Sapele (now in the Mid-Western State) and especially Ikeja (now in Lagos State), both of which towns were industrializing. No town plans have been produced, and the Ibadan authority is now specifically excluded from any jurisdiction over the old town, in which over half of the

city's population lives.

The principal causes of this relative ineffectiveness have not been so much legislative as administrative. They appear to have included shortages of professional staff and of finance actually distributed, lack of appropriate research, local corruption and inefficiency, lack of definite ministerial policy about the use and development of land, problems of land tenure, lack of communication and coordination between Ministries and between the public and private sectors, the low priority given to urban and regional planning by successive Governments, the adverse attitude of economic planners to such planning, and the slow rate of urbanization in a State where towns have fallen under the domination of Metropolitan Lagos. In this latter respect, it is a critical commentary upon the general failure to recognize and understand the facts of urbanization and regional development in Nigeria, that the country's main thrust in town and country planning should have taken place in a State relatively untroubled by the "take-off" into urbanization. That thrust has really been successful only in Ikeja, which forms part of Metropolitan Lagos and now falls within Lagos State.

As regards the Mid-Western State, which formed part of the former Western Region up to 1962, town planning authorities which were established in Benin (the capital), Sapele, Warri, and one other urban area under the 1956 Western

Nigeria Law, have now been amalgamated into a State-wide Benin-Delta Development and Planning Authority (BENDEL) set up in January, 1970. The Sapele authority first prepared schemes in the 1950s, consultants have recently been commissioned to prepare a town plan for Benin, BENDEL is developing two housing estates in Warri and 200,000 Nigerian pounds are now allocated for town planning under the Second National Development Plan. As, however, there is a professional staff of only two overseas-trained town planning officers in the Ministry of Lands and Housing, the State's potential ability to cope with the possible repercussions of oil development upon urbanization in the Benin-Warri area must be conjectural. So far, the pace of change has been that of third-order towns except in Warri, but it could easily accelerate with little warning--as it has in fact done in Warri since 1968, with overwhelming consequences^{*}--and a commissioned town plan for Benin will not by itself ensure control.

Lagos State: Although most town planning authorities are located in Western Nigeria, their legislative foundations spring from the Lagos Town Planning Ordinance of 1928. This response to an outbreak of bubonic plague established the Lagos Executive Development Board, with ex-

* See page 13 above, and J.O. Abiodun, op. cit.

tensive powers to undertake comprehensive improvement schemes within the city limits. The First National Development Plan allocated to it 23 million Nigerian pounds for capital expenditure on town and country planning (including housing) in Lagos Federal Territory (i.e. the city), of which 65 per cent was spent.

The effectiveness of this expenditure in an urban area experiencing a population growth of 8.8 per cent per annum is summarized by the Second National Development Plan as follows: "The problems of a small island capital were compounded by rapid urbanization. The result was serious overcrowding in slum areas and acute shortage of land which has seriously impeded the transformation of Lagos into the modern capital of a potentially rich and great nation." The Board demolished some of the worst slums "but within a limited area of Lagos Island, replacing them ineffectively with shops and office buildings. Over the same period, the Board established industrial estates at Apapa, Iganmu and Ijora as well as residential estates at South-West Ikoyi, Apapa and Surulere. The reclamation of Victoria Island, which started in the mid 1950s, was also completed at a very high cost."

This piecemeal, inadequate attack on what were, in fact, massive environmental, social, technical and spatial problems, was undertaken by a Board which had no power to draw up a statutory town plan until a military decree of 1967. Even today, its town planning section comprises no

more than five professional, overseas-trained officers, about the same number of technical assistants, and a very small supporting staff for social survey work. Outside the city, the Ikeja Area Planning Authority has one professional, overseas-trained town planning officer, a civil engineer, three or four technical-level assistants and supporting staff. Controlling an area in which the former Western Region poured most of its investment in housing and industrial estates, and established most of its Government-supported industries, the Ikeja authority is the one successful planning unit, operating without subsidy and able to finance road construction out of its own revenues. By contrast, a small town planning authority at Epe (also transferred from the former Western Region) has never had more than a building inspector and secretarial staff, and is virtually moribund.

The new Lagos State itself has recently appointed one overseas-trained professional town planning officer within the Ministry of Works and Planning, with the object of welding together these disparate institutions into a viable planning organization. The problem it faces is quite different in kind and magnitude from any previously experienced in Nigeria. Machinery has to be established for the planned control of the greatest regional metropolitan development in tropical Africa, and which is experiencing a population growth-rate approaching 20 per cent per annum in its fringe

areas. The enormity of this task appears to be wholly underestimated even though it was first spelled out in 1962 by a United Nations team of experts (Koenigsberger), and further re-evaluated in 1967 and 1968 with a view to providing a specialist team to prepare and execute a metropolitan development plan, and to build up permanent machinery for the control of future growth.

These United Nations efforts have had no tangible results so far and the Second National Development Plan now allocates but 1 million Nigerian pounds for capital expenditure on town and country planning (including housing) for the whole of Lagos State, as against more than 1.2 million Nigerian pounds for staff-quarters and transient flats for Government servants in the city itself. It is not known if this quite insignificant allocation--which contrasts remarkably with allocations of 2.7 million Nigerian pounds for Kano and 3 million Nigerian pounds for Kaduna--takes into account possible United Nations financing of metropolitan planning. Even if it does, the inference to be drawn is that both the Federal and State Governments have singularly failed to appreciate the full gravity of the urban situation arising in and around Lagos, as the metropolitan population swiftly approaches two million.

Northern Nigeria: In the six Northern States there are no more than six professional town planners. One operates in Ilorin in Kwara State. Kwara State is being

drained of population by the attraction of the major growth-poles to its north and south, but it is not known if the 400,000 Nigerian pounds allocated in the Second National Development Plan for "township mapping and lay-out of urban development areas" is intended for the improvement of Ilorin as a local counter-magnet to the national growth-poles. The State has not previously formulated an explicit urbanization or regional development policy in these terms.

Three of the remaining town planners are expatriate officers appointed in Kano State to the newly-revived Metropolitan Kano Planning and Development Board. A consultant was commissioned in 1962 to produce a metropolitan development plan^{*} in conjunction with the Board, which was created for this purpose and disbanded upon the plan's completion. Now that the plan is out-dated, the Board has been re-constituted with four expatriate professional officers, and allocated 2.7 million Nigerian pounds for capital expenditure during the next four years. It is primarily attacking the formidable problem of redeveloping the city's ancient, regional and severely-congested central market, for which essential surveys are being organized by the Physical Planning Research Division of NISER. Meanwhile, as quickly as

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B.A.W. Trevallion Metropolitan Kano: Report on the
Twenty-Year Development Plan, 1963--1983. London, 1963.

possible, the Board must attempt to build up an organization capable of undertaking the research and analysis needed to support the planned control of a city approaching 500,000 people, at a growth-rate of nearly 9 per cent per annum.

In 1967, a metropolitan plan for Kaduna was produced by another overseas consultant.* Now the capital of the North-Central State and with a population of 200,000 people, the city has one recently-appointed town planner and is allocated 3 million Nigerian pounds for capital expenditure under the Second National Development Plan. This allocation apparently envisages the creation of planning machinery similar to that set up in Kano. If so, it will also operate under the provisions of the Nigerian Town and Country Planning Ordinance, possibly amended according to recommendations proposed in the metropolitan plan. In that case neither of the metropolitan authorities will exercise any jurisdiction over the allocation of investment for development purposes beyond their own local administrative limits. This is a matter for the State Governments, and neither of the State development plans embodies a policy on urbanization and regional planning to guide such investment. Yet the population growth-rate of the Kano-Zaria-Kaduna complex has been averaging 9 per cent per annum, some 700,000

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Max Lock Kaduna - 1917, 1967, 2017: A Survey and Plan of the Capital Territory for the Government of Northern Nigeria. London, 1967.

persons are converging on it every year mainly from the rural areas of the two States concerned, and together the three urban centers already account for close to 900,000 people.

None of the other Northern States has an explicit policy on urban growth let alone regional development, although for survey, town planning and urban development projects in the new State capitals and principal provincial towns, 2.4 million Nigerian pounds are allocated for capital expenditure between 1970 and 1974, over and above the proposals for Kano and Kaduna. In most cases, however, the population growth-rates of these towns fall within the 4 to 6 per cent range, with no unmanageable problems of social, physical and economic change. The difficulty is to establish the requisite machinery and staff.

Eastern Nigeria: As in the Northern States, town planning and urban development have been covered since 1946 in the former Eastern Region and new Eastern States by the Nigerian Town and Country Planning Ordinance. Although the growth of the Port Harcourt-Aba-Onitsha complex was very great between 1952 and 1963, a Regional Ministry of Lands and Housing was not set up until 1962. Its title was changed in 1965 to that of Town and Country Planning, but this activity was in practice relegated to a small office which supervised the work of two or three local planning authorities. Before the outbreak of war, the office was

staffed by three expatriate professionals, three Nigerian officers with overseas training, and four technical-level assistants. Emphasis was naturally placed on controlling the vigorous urbanization of Port Harcourt (for which the USAID was preparing to produce a master plan), and there was no regional planning.

Under the Second National Development Plan, the three Eastern States are now being allocated 3.2 million Nigerian pounds for capital expenditure on town planning, the rehabilitation of planning authorities, and urban layouts. Of this sum, 1.2 million Nigerian pounds are allocated to the East-Central State in which Aba, Onitsha and Enugu are located, 1 million Nigerian pounds to Rivers State where Port Harcourt is located, and 1 million Nigerian pounds to the South-Eastern State. There is no reference to State-wide physical planning as in the Western State.

While these sums compare very favorably with the capital allocation to Lagos State, they do not reflect the pattern and pace of urbanization manifested before the war. These patterns are likely to reproduce themselves quite speedily under the principles controlling the location of investment in industries, power, transport and infrastructure defined in the current Plan. If it is in the interest of national development that the former growth-pole of Eastern Nigeria should be reconstructed without delay, but with due planning control, a different town planning allo-

cation would seem to be needed, and an attempt should be made to draw up regional plans embodying integrated strategies on urbanization and rural development.

Conclusions

The pivotal importance of towns and cities in the process of development has still to be recognized in the planning schemes at any level of government in Nigeria. On the one hand, they "are the essential dynamoes for progress in all parts of an industrializing country."* On the other hand, without the stimulus and support of an effective regional network of settlements, agricultural development must be stunted for lack of central places around which it may be organized for growth and change. Obversely, a "take-off" into urbanization, unaccompanied by an attempt to channel and guide it according to a basic strategy appropriate to a developing country's agricultural, industrial, commercial and administrative needs, can prove disastrous. Far from being prime movers and catalysts of change, towns and cities can only too easily degenerate into national liabilities.

In Nigeria, the unprecedented and rapid population increases taking place in and around Metropolitan Lagos in

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Bertram M. Gross The Administration of Economic Development Planning: Principles and Fallacies. United Nations, Public Administration Branch, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York, 1966.

the south-west, the Kano-Zaria-Kaduna complex in the north, and, before the devastation of war, in the Port Harcourt-Aba-Onitsha zone in the south-east, have been matched by a massive and accelerating migration from all parts of the country. Internally, for at least a decade these three growth-poles have shown signs of failure to absorb the huge influx of people, economically, physically and socially. In particular, Metropolitan Lagos increasingly threatens to hamper the country's economic expansion because of the rising congestion of its port facilities, the worsening conditions of its traffic, the inadequacy of its public utilities, the growing ineffectiveness of its administration, and the deterioration of its physical environment. Externally, extensive rural areas lying within the immediate shadow of these growth-poles have already been denuded of hundreds of thousands of their younger men and women.

In such circumstances, the need to plan for urban and regional development right across the country becomes imperative. The Second National Development Plan makes reference to none of the possible strategies that might be employed. For example, in an attempt to diminish the present polarization of urban growth, selected third-order towns might be up-graded by channelling investment to them for industrial, commercial and administrative development, and for the expansion of appropriate infrastructure. Alternatively, an attempt might be made to divert part of the townward

stream away from the congested growth-poles toward areas in which the economic potential is high but relatively unexploited. Or an attempt might be made to spread out the influx converging on a particular growth-pole by deliberately expanding a network of towns surrounding it.*

The Plan might have adopted a strategy combining any of these or yet other alternatives, according to the empirical nature and problems of each major urban complex and its regional sphere of influence. One alternative might have been to take action to rapidly step up the capacities of certain complexes (such as Metropolitan Lagos) to absorb the influx of people threatening to overwhelm them. Although this would involve very heavy expenditure on social overheads and infrastructure in a few, concentrated areas, and would contradict the Plan's stated regional planning policy of "even development," it might prove to be the most practical solution by being the most immediate one.

In the absence of any such action at either Federal or State Government level, the escalating problems of urbanization and regional development are left for local solution by the town planning authorities, whose jurisdictions are limited to towns and cities, and whose activities are in no

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International Union of Local Authorities, Urbanization in Developing Countries: Report of a Symposium held in December, 1967. The Hague, 1968.

way related to those of urban and regional planning as defined earlier. The past record of these authorities, the limited funds allocated to them, their dearth of professional staff, and their inability to influence the volume and location of investment for industrial, commercial and infrastructural purposes even within their own jurisdictions, by no means inspire confidence in their ultimate success. Town planning authorities are certainly no answer to the progressive implications of urbanization and regional development in Nigeria.

ANNEX:

UNIVERSITY TRAINING AND RESEARCH IN URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

Urban and Regional Studies

Systematic, university training devoted to the analysis of problems of urban and regional development (or planning) has yet to be established in Nigeria. Certain efforts to introduce this kind of training were made prior to the civil war, and in 1964, a proposal for a physical planning department in Ife University (then at its Ibadan campus) was favorably reported on for the United Nations. In the same year, another proposal for a post-graduate department of urban and regional studies at Lagos University was submitted to the Ford Foundation. Although Martin Meyerson (then Dean of the College of Environmental Design, University of

California, Berkeley) also reported favorably on the second proposal, a political crisis affecting both Universities prevented taking any immediate action on either report.

Both topics continued to be considered within the United Nations and the Foundation, however, and in connection with the second proposal, a further suggestion was made in 1967 for a pilot research program in urban and regional planning, to be started within the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research at Ibadan University (instead of Lagos). The Physical Planning Research Division of NISER, established in July 1968, is the direct result of this. While its principal objective is to assist the Federal and State Governments, it continues to have a secondary, educational purpose. Under the direction of two Foundation project specialists, three Nigerian research fellows and a growing number of graduate research assistants are being trained on the job; and during the long university vacations students are employed as field assistants. The Division has recently proposed an increase in its permanent staff but funds (which originate from the Foundation and the Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction) are limited relative to needs. Moreover, the Division's future status is somewhat unclear, partly because of the general under-assessment of the significance of problems of urbanization and regional development described in chapter 2 above.

Meanwhile, interest in regional planning has been growing within the Department of Geography at Ibadan University, culminating in a series of seminars held in 1969 and 1970, and a firm proposal to commence a regional planning course at the post-graduate level in 1971/72, and to establish an all-Africa center for urban and regional planning. The post-graduate course is to be run jointly by the Departments of Geography and Economics, with a view to training graduates in the spatial and locational aspects of planning in order to assist the Federal and State Governments. Funds and staff are both limiting factors, however.

Although systematic training in urban and regional planning is still lacking, urbanization as a topic of study and research has been under examination for some years in the social science departments of Ibadan and other Nigerian Universities. Post-graduate students in the Geography Department of Ibadan University, for example, have carried out studies of the central business district of Ibadan, the industrial structure of Iseyin, the trading functions and urban Hinterland of Onitsha, markets in Metropolitan Lagos, and the urban hierarchy of Kano State. In the Department of Sociology, studies have dealt with for instance, population and family change in Ilorin; the socio-cultural aspects of cancer in Ibadan, and, in other towns, the relationships between the social organization of industrial establishments and workers' attitudes toward traditional society. The

environmental health problems of urban and rural communities in Ibarapa have been studied by the Department of Medicine. At Ife University, urban-connected training and research in a recently established Demographic Unit are concerned with census problems, and in the Department of Geography and Economics, with a survey of industries in the Western and Mid-Western States.

Town Planning

The twenty to twenty-five Nigerian professional town planners working in Government offices have all been trained overseas, mainly in British and American planning schools with largely design-oriented curricula. To widen their horizons, the Ford Foundation's project specialists in the Physical Planning Research Division of NISER have arranged for Foundation scholarships to be awarded to enable some of them to attend the MIT Special Program on Urban and Regional Studies of Developing Areas (SPURS). The first scholarship has been awarded to the chief town planning officer of the Western State, who is attending this year's course.

Within Nigeria, Lagos University is scheduled to establish a Department of Environmental Development. It will be multi-disciplinary and provide degree courses in architecture, town planning, civil engineering and building construction, and it will incorporate the facilities of the Federal Building Research Institute, Lagos. In this context,

training in town planning will undoubtedly have been design-oriented, thereby complementing rather than competing with the proposed post-graduate course in regional planning at Ibadan. In the north, the Department of Architecture at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, has recently changed its title to the Department of Environmental Design. This may indicate an intention to study the problems of urban structure and form, and a member has now been appointed to the staff who has social science training in urban and regional planning.

At the sub-professional level, the Ibadan Technical College provides, with the help of a United Nations specialist appointed as a result of the 1964 report referred to above, the only town planning training in the whole of Nigeria. The three-year course in its Town Planning Department stresses practical aspects, such as frequent field-survey work, planning analysis, the preparation of outline master plans and the planning and design of small-scale housing and industrial layouts. In recent years the results of surveys made by the town planning students on housing, industries, and schools in Ibadan actually provide the best information available on these topics. About ten town planning assistants are produced each year, and all are immediately employed by the Western State, Ministry of Lands and Housing, the local town planning authorities and the Lagos Executive Development Board.

It is proposed that the departments of the Technical College will, in the near future, be incorporated and physically linked with a Polytechnic to be set up on the Ibadan campus of Ife University, but not under the latter's control. It is expected that the training in the Polytechnic will remain at the technical level in the early stages of its development, although professional courses may be added later. The town planning department will be given increased facilities, but there is no information available on whether a university-level department of physical planning will be initiated, as proposed to the United Nations in 1964.